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*THE PASTOR AND TEACHER IN NEW ENGLAND*

VERGIL V. PHELPS

BILLINGS, MONTANA

The necessity of moral and religious training in the education of children and the significance of education in matters of religion have in our day become the subject of much discussion. It may be profitable, therefore, to examine a unique institution of early New England by which religion was linked to education, and religious education was given a high place in the life of the churches. It is remarkable that this institution seems never to have received the attention of a single book, pamphlet, or magazine article.

In early New England a fully organized church had as officers a pastor, a teacher, and at least one ruling elder, and one deacon.<sup>1</sup> The deacon was the treasurer, and the ruling elder the trustee and censor of morals. The pastor was the administrative head of the church, who was expected to inspire its life and activities; the teacher was the educational and doctrinal leader. This office of teacher was undoubtedly the distinctive feature of the New England system. The teacher was exclusively a church officer, and had no more connection with any school than the pastor or deacon; he was as unlike a schoolmaster as a modern theological professor is unlike a teacher in our public schools.<sup>2</sup> As far as it is possible to make a comparison, the teacher may be described as a kind of theological professor whose sphere of work was exclusively a church.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The polity also called for the office of deaconess, which never existed in America, although there are several instances of it in Puritan England.

<sup>2</sup> The teacher taught the church-members, while the schoolmaster taught the children of the town. The former dealt exclusively with religion, the latter was concerned with religion only as religion was then linked to education.

<sup>3</sup> If a theological professor were the regular minister of a church, conducted a lecture (or mid-week religious service), and were responsible for the religious principles of his congregation, we should have the counterpart of the teacher. Something like this is sometimes found to-day among the Quakers. In a few instances, a schoolmaster acted as substitute for a pastor or teacher, or even was

The difference between the functions of the pastor and the teacher was as follows:<sup>4</sup> In general, pastoral visitation and friendly advice were expected from the pastor, while the teacher preached studied sermons and published treatises in elucidation of the truths of the Bible. In the church service the teacher expounded the meaning of a passage of the Bible, after which the pastor applied the truths to daily life and exhorted the congregation to conduct themselves accordingly.<sup>5</sup> While the exposition of the teacher was carefully prepared, the application of the pastor had in the nature of the case to be extemporaneous.<sup>6</sup> It was pre-eminently the business of the teacher to read<sup>7</sup> and expound the Bible in the church service.

In the administration of the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper the pastor and the teacher usually alternated<sup>8</sup> without any other distinction than the character of each officer might impart to his administration of the rite. In matters of church discipline, over which the ruling elder usually presided, the teacher was called upon whenever there was a point of New Testament procedure to elucidate; but when it was a question of

called to a permanent office. Increase Mather was president of Harvard College while teacher of the Second Church of Boston, but the laws of the colony forbade a minister to be a schoolmaster. Daniel Neal, *History of New England*, vol. ii, appendix iv.

<sup>4</sup> These generalizations are based on the recorded efforts of the various independent churches to carry out the ideals of their leaders amid the fluctuating conditions of a new settlement.

<sup>5</sup> The afternoon service was less formal, and the order more variable. Thomas Lechford, *Plain Dealing*, p. 47, and Robert Keayne, manuscript of Boston sermons of Cotton, with three by Wilson and one by Cobbett (described, somewhat erroneously, in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 2d series, vol. iv, pp. 313-316, and vol. v, p. 435), indicate no difference in the order of the afternoon service.

<sup>6</sup> Note Wilson's remarks of January 13, 1642: "What ever I had otherwise provided to speake to you, yet because the time is about spent, so I shud possibly keepe you no longer. Yet soe I will speke but a word or 2 to presse the whel on you, what you have soe profitably heard all ready." See also Cotton Mather, *Magnalia*, vol. i, pp. 311-312, 435.

<sup>7</sup> Often omitted if there was no teacher. H. M. Dexter, *Congregationalism in Literature*, p. 452, note 147; Dedham church records; Thomas Lechford, *Plain Dealing*, pp. 47, 52; Cotton Mather, *Ratio Disciplinae*, pp. 63-68.

<sup>8</sup> In England only the pastor could administer these rites. Mayo, of the Second Church of Boston, says (church records, vol. iii, p. 3): "Ordinances being here dispensed by ye Pastor & Teacher in our several vicissitudes."

daily conduct, the assistance of the pastor was invoked.<sup>9</sup> If the case of discipline was dependent upon the interpretation of Scripture, the verdict was delivered by the teacher; but if a matter of church life, by the pastor.<sup>10</sup>

The teacher was exempt from all administrative work. This belonged to the pastor, assisted by the ruling elders. If, however, any subject arose pertaining to Scripture or doctrine, it was referred to the teacher.<sup>11</sup> About the year 1700 it became customary for a minister to preside at funerals and marriages, and the pastor usually performed that function.<sup>12</sup> The teacher, thus relieved from administrative work, spent the week in strenuous study, preparing himself to "explain and defend the principles of the Christian religion."<sup>13</sup> The fruits of this study were doctrinal and expository sermons,<sup>14</sup> addresses at ecclesiastical councils and meetings, and pamphlets and books, which won from the Great and General Court many a grant for eradicating heresy. Moreover, the teacher was the leader in catechizing. He prepared the catechisms and directed the instruction.<sup>15</sup> The Thursday Lecture, however, which was the traditional sphere of the teacher in England, became in New England an occasion for exhortation as well as instruction, and it was, in fact, scarcely more than a Sunday service in the middle of the week.

But the fundamental difference between the pastor and the

<sup>9</sup> See trials in Keayne manuscript; Connecticut Historical Society Collections, vol. ii, pp. 75-77.

<sup>10</sup> See Keayne manuscript (excellent); New Haven church records, vol. i, pp. 1 ff.; Connecticut Historical Society Collections, vol. i, pp. 22-51; Thomas Lechford, *Plain Dealing*, pp. 30 f.

<sup>11</sup> As at the First Church of Boston on May 20, 1640, when a certain request for a letter was answered by "our teacher and consented to by the church," it being against all Scripture precedent. Keayne manuscript for date. There are many instances in which the teacher and ruling elder sign the correspondence of their church. Both the pastor and teacher kept the church records.

<sup>12</sup> The earlier theory had been that a minister ought not to be "burthened with the execution of civil affairs, as the celebration of marriage, burying the dead, &c." *Points of Difference*, art. 6. See Boston town records from 1687 for the marriages by Samuel Willard and by Increase and Cotton Mather.

<sup>13</sup> Cotton Mather, *Magnalia*, vol. i, p. 550.

<sup>14</sup> These expository sermons on entire books of the Bible often extended over several months and even years. See Keayne manuscript, and Richard Mather's *Lectures upon Second Peter*.

<sup>15</sup> The actual work was usually done by the pastor or ruling elder.

teacher, both in theory and practice, consisted in the innate or divinely endowed character of one minister as fitted to be pastor and of another as teacher. An examination of the lives of the various pastors and teachers of New England will make it apparent that this distinction was more than purely theoretical. Note the following characterizations of pastors: "a zealous and pious preacher," "a very gracious, sincere man"; "a very lively preacher and a very preaching liver"; "a very affectionate man, who seldom ended a sermon without weeping"; a man "abounding in zeal, prudence, and charity"; "a man eminent in faith, love, humility, self-denial, prayer, soundness of mind, zeal for God, liberality to all men, especially to the saints and ministers of Christ."<sup>16</sup> Compare these with the following descriptive phrases of teachers: "mighty in the Scriptures"; "a solid man"; "a theological drill-sergeant"; "a living, breathing Bible"; "as clear and smart a disputant as most ever lived in the world"; "sage, sober, grave, and learned"; "had an excellent talent in training up children in a catechetical way in the grounds of the Christian religion"; "apt to teach"; "greatest star in the churches of Christ that we could hear of in the Christian world for opening and unfolding the counsels of Christ to the churches."<sup>17</sup> Descriptions of the pastor and teacher of a church given by the same person especially reveal this contrast.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> The preceding characterizations are from the following sources: John Hull, *Diary* for June 24, 1649 (Thomas Shepard); John Winthrop, *History of New England*, vol. i, p. 376 (313) (Tomson of Braintree); Cotton Mather, *Magnalia*, vol. i, p. 430 (Samuel Newman), and vol. ii, p. 61 (Samuel Danforth); William Emerson, *First Church in Boston*, p. 1 (Wilson); and Roxbury church records, p. 206.

<sup>17</sup> The first phrase is used to describe many men. The others are: Life of Richard Mather (anonymous, but undoubtedly by Increase Mather), p. 32; M. C. Tyler, *American Literature*, vol. ii, p. 168, and H. A. Hill, *Old South Church*, vol. i, p. 339; J. L. Sibley, *Harvard Graduates*, vol. i, p. 27 (the description of John Cotton by Woodbridge); John Cotton, Plymouth, in *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 1st series, vol. iv, p. 118 (Reyner); Edward Johnson, *Wonder Working Providence*, p. 21 (Higginson) and p. 59 (Cotton); A. B. Ellis, *First Church in Boston*, p. 327, note, and fly-leaf of *First Church records* (Cotton).

<sup>18</sup> See Edward Johnson, *Wonder Working Providence*, pp. 21 f. for Skelton and Higginson; Roxbury church records, p. 206, *First Church in Boston records*, and Keayne manuscript for Cotton and Wilson; Cotton Mather, *Magnalia*, vol. i, p. 252, and John Cotton (in G. L. Walker, *First Church, Hartford*, pp. 428, 443) for Hooker and Stone; and Benjamin Colman's funeral sermons upon the two

It is evident from this description of the functions and character of the pastor and teacher that the two men were colleague ministers, each contributing an indispensable part to the life and growth of the formative New England churches. The teacher was not, as has sometimes been affirmed, the assistant of the pastor. In many instances both pastors and teachers had assistants, but such assistants were specifically designated assistants, and bore no other title. The teacher was no more the assistant of the pastor than the pastor of the teacher. Greater age, length of service in the ministry, and physical activity were no criteria for selecting a pastor. And more thorough college training, physical inability for visitation, and feeble health never appear to have been the motives leading to the assignment of a minister to the work of teacher. Neither office conferred any ascendancy over the other. A larger salary is no indication of greater esteem or ability.<sup>19</sup> When one man towered above his colleague it was the teacher even more frequently than the pastor; and such pre-eminence was due, not to office, but to personality. This equality of collegueship is also revealed by the pride which each minister took in his title, and the scrupulous care with which the titles were applied in all official documents.<sup>20</sup> Even when, as not infrequently occurred, there was slight difference in the inherent characters of the two men, each was expected to "bend himself" to the performance of his half of the work. Otherwise the full strength of the church could not be utilized. By this division of ministerial labor and this co-operation between the leaders of a church, the New Englanders obtained a harmony between the ideal and the practical in life and religion, and a unity of religious and moral education.

Mathers. Henry Ware (Second Church, Boston, p. 17) thus distinguishes Cotton Mather from his father: "As a preacher he differed much from his father; having less strength and more rhapsody, less dignity and more declamation."

<sup>19</sup> See Good News from New England, 1648, for a list of salaries. And Second Church, Boston, records for salaries of ministers. A New England salary was based upon need (size of family, age of minister, etc.) and not upon ability.

<sup>20</sup> See Dury's letter (in Samuel Mather's Apology, appendix, part i, number 3); Charlestown church records, p. 12; Thomas Lechford, Plain Dealing, pp. 89 ff.; John Winthrop, History of New England, vol. i, p. 217 (182); Cudworth's letter (in New England Historical and Genealogical Register, vol. xiv, pp. 101 ff.); Robert Keayne, notes on a council at Weymouth (in Stiles Collection).

Let us next consider the prevalence and evolution of the institution. If we consider the churches of the first generation, in 1630, Salem, Plymouth, Dorchester, Roxbury, and Boston-Watertown<sup>21</sup> had pastors and teachers. In 1635, in addition to these four, Charlestown, Ipswich,<sup>22</sup> and Newbury had the two officers. By 1640, in addition to these, the officers had been elected at Braintree, Hingham, Lynn, Hampton, Hartford, Windsor, Wethersfield, Milford, Barnstable, Taunton (or Cohasset), and Dorchester.<sup>23</sup> In 1650, after the institution had been discontinued in some churches because of the exodus to England, the two offices existed at Braintree, Salem, Boston (First Church), Dorchester, Charlestown, Ipswich, Hartford, Lynn, Newbury, and Roxbury.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, Andover-Haverhill, New Haven, Guilford, and Rowley had established the offices in the mean time. In other words, only four churches (besides Boston-Watertown) had the two officers in 1630, and only eight in 1635; by 1640 the number had increased to twenty;<sup>25</sup> by 1650 it had receded to

<sup>21</sup> Boston-Watertown was probably a colony church, with Wilson as teacher and Phillips as pastor, because (1) neither possessed more than one minister; (2) Winthrop invariably calls Phillips pastor and Wilson teacher; (3) the colony raised the salaries of both; and (4) both preached at Charlestown for the first two years, at least part of the time (Roger Clap, *Memoirs*, p. 22). However, it may be said that polity was still indefinite.

<sup>22</sup> Bracy preceded Norton for one year. J. B. Felt, *Ipswich*, pp. 218, 222.

<sup>23</sup> If Burr was not the pastor in 1640, he was about to be called and was serving in that capacity. John Winthrop, *History of New England*, vol. ii, pp. 26-27 (22); Edward Johnson, *Wonder Working Providence*, p. 74; Dedham church records, p. 12; Dorchester church records, p. 250 [255]. Mather also had assistants from 1636-1649. Dorchester church records, pp. 7 [9], 8 [10]; 250th Anniversary Proceedings at First Church, Dorchester, p. 104; and C. F. Adams, Quincy, p. 15. Plymouth was in search of a pastor to help its teacher from 1636 to 1644. William Bradford, *History of the Plimoth Plantation*, published by the State of Massachusetts, 1898, pp. 456 f.; John Cotton, Plymouth, p. 118; for Salem, see J. B. Felt, *Annals of Salem*, vol. ii, p. 626, and *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. xxxvi, pp. 38 f.; vol. xxxix, p. 374; John Winthrop, *History of New England*, vol. ii, pp. 27, 31; Eliot's list; Stiles's list; Good News from New England, 1648.

<sup>24</sup> Salem apparently regarded Peters as its pastor, although he was in England. Roxbury, abandoning all hope of the return of Welde, had elected a colleague for Eliot in 1650.

<sup>25</sup> Cambridge (with Harvard College to supply the function of teacher), Hampton (rather uncertain), and the Indian churches (with both officers) are omitted. Similarly, nothing is said of churches with a single minister whom they called a teacher.

fourteen. In the year 1660, when practically all the leaders of the first generation were dead, the two offices continued at all of the churches that had possessed them in 1650, except Lynn and Guilford, the Second Church of Boston being in search of a teacher. By 1675, the two offices still existed in the three churches of Boston,<sup>26</sup> at Salem,<sup>27</sup> Ipswich, Roxbury,<sup>28</sup> Rowley, Charlestown, and Newbury.<sup>29</sup> Thus thirteen churches had the two offices in 1660, and nine in 1675. By 1690, only the First and Second Churches of Boston, and the churches of Salem, Ipswich, Roxbury,<sup>30</sup> and Rowley (six in all) possessed the offices;<sup>31</sup> and by 1715 only Salem and the Second Church of Boston remain on the list.

The teachership died out at Boston, in the First Church, with Allen in 1710;<sup>32</sup> in the Second Church, with Increase Mather in 1723; and in the Third Church, with Willard in 1707.<sup>33</sup> At Salem it ended with the death of Noyes in 1717;<sup>34</sup> at Dorchester, with the death of Richard Mather in 1669; at Charlestown, with the death of Shepard in 1677;<sup>35</sup> at Ipswich, with the death of Hubbard in 1704;<sup>36</sup> at Lynn, with the departure of Cobbett in

<sup>26</sup> The First Church records invariably call Allen teacher. The search of the Third Church was rewarded by the call of Willard in 1676.

<sup>27</sup> Nicholet was supplying as teacher and was desired permanently.

<sup>28</sup> John Eliot, Jr., was supply pastor from 1674 to 1688. Roxbury church records, pp. 132, 142.

<sup>29</sup> Both Rowley and Charlestown were having supplies for the assistance of their single minister, Charlestown calling Browne in 1678 and Rowley calling Payson in 1682. Richardson at Newbury (1673-1696) was called a teacher. Joshua Coffin, Newbury, pp. 68, 69, 73, 158, etc.; note also the epitaph on his tombstone.

<sup>30</sup> Eliot died in 1690, leaving Walter as the single minister, the "teaching pastor," as the venerable Eliot ordained him, in 1688.

<sup>31</sup> And in these churches the distinction between the two had practically disappeared.

<sup>32</sup> The church records and Allen himself invariably call him teacher.

<sup>33</sup> See titles of his books in H. A. Hill, *Old South Church*, in bibliography appended to vol. ii; Samuel Sewall, *Journal*, for date.

<sup>34</sup> See C. W. Upham, *Salem*, p. 485; C. S. Osgood and H. M. Batchelder, *Salem*, pp. 82 ff.; D. A. White, *New England Congregationalism*, as illustrated by Records of the First Church in Salem, pp. 293 f.

<sup>35</sup> See church records, p. 12; W. I. Budington, *First Church, Charlestown*, pp. 44, 65, 79, 83; Roxbury church records, p. 198.

<sup>36</sup> See J. B. Felt, *Ipswich*, pp. 233 f.



1655; at Newbury, with the death of Richardson in 1696;<sup>37</sup> at Roxbury, with Eliot in 1690; at Rowley, with Payson in 1732;<sup>38</sup> at Hartford, with Stone in 1663; at New Haven, with Street in 1674; at Braintree, with Flint in 1668;<sup>39</sup> and in the smaller churches at some date anterior to 1660.

There were, however, colleague-pastors at the First Church of Boston until 1789; at the Second Church until 1751 (with an attempt to secure one even after that date); at the Third Church, until 1769; at Charlestown, until 1774; at Ipswich, until 1756; and at Hartford until 1666. Andover had colleagues from 1682 to 1697, and Roxbury from 1718 to 1725. Several churches had colleague-pastors, but never had both a pastor and a teacher. This was the unique arrangement at Watertown from 1639 to 1649, and also from 1687 to 1692; Brattle Street, Boston, from 1716 to 1747; the New Brick, Boston, from 1738 to 1753; and the New North, Boston, from the time of its organization.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, the churches frequently had assistants for the ministers, especially if the pastor or teacher were in poor health, or overworked, or if the church were temporarily without one or the other minister.

Looking at these facts from another angle, the churches that had both a pastor and a teacher at the time of their foundation were Braintree,<sup>41</sup> Concord, Dorchester, Newbury, Roxbury,<sup>42</sup> Salem, Taunton, Hampton, Dover, Hartford, Windsor,<sup>43</sup> Guilford, Milford,<sup>44</sup> and Wethersfield.<sup>45</sup> These churches were organ-

<sup>37</sup> See note 29 above.

<sup>38</sup> Payson was sole minister of the church from 1696 to 1729, when he was given an assistant.

<sup>39</sup> See George Whitney, *Early History of Quincy*, pp. 32 ff.; F. A. Whitney, *First Church of Quincy*, p. 40; D. M. Wilson, *Commemorative Services of the Two Hundred and Fifty Years of Braintree*, pp. 35-37; *Good News from New England*, 1648.

<sup>40</sup> Chandler Robbins, *Second Church, Boston*, p. 170. The church desired to conform to the custom of the time and have two ministers.

<sup>41</sup> Teacher Flint was not ordained at once, because of his defence of Wheelwright and refusal to erase his signature from a petition.

<sup>42</sup> Eliot was ordained within five months of Welde.

<sup>43</sup> This is the Dorchester-Windsor church.

<sup>44</sup> The church wished to call Sherman as teacher, and he supplied in that capacity, but declined a call.

<sup>45</sup> There were two ministers from 1636 to 1639, probably known by the current terms. *Connecticut Ecclesiastical Contributions*, p. 506.

ized between 1629 and 1643. In only six of them did the institution of pastor and teacher continue longer than seven years, namely at Braintree, Dorchester, Newbury, Roxbury, Salem, and Hartford. And only Salem, Roxbury, and Newbury continued the offices beyond 1670. The churches that instituted the two offices within five years of their organization were the First Church, Boston, Charlestown, Hingham, Ipswich, Lynn, and New Haven. Plymouth and the Third Church, Boston, established the offices within ten years of their organization, in 1630 and 1676 respectively,<sup>46</sup> while the Second Church, Boston, and Rowley elected the officers within twelve years of their organization, in 1664 and 1650 respectively.<sup>47</sup>

Thus it is evident that the institution of pastor and teacher was the general practice of the New England churches about 1640. A church without the two officers could not regard itself as a fully organized church, so that the smallest churches, and even the Indian churches, tried to institute the two offices. This attitude of the incomplete churches "perishing without vision" induced Welde to say that all the churches of New England had both a pastor and a teacher. However, although the pamphlet warfare which crystallized into the Westminster Confession in England and the Cambridge Platform in New England put a quietus upon all discussion against the Scriptural necessity of a pastor and teacher in a local congregation, and although the Cambridge Platform reigned triumphant for almost a hundred years (and has never been formally superseded), yet ultimately the institution ended in the modern system of a single minister. In the larger churches the intermediate stage was that of colleague-pastors, in the smaller, the combination of the two functions in one minister, called "pastor and teacher." The call to a Congregational church is still given in this form. The educational ideal of the ministry in the Congregational churches makes the minister a teaching pastor.

The institution of pastor and teacher fell gradually into disuse,

<sup>46</sup> The Old South had tried to secure a teacher for seven years.

<sup>47</sup> The authorities of the colony objected to the call of ruling elder Powell as teacher in 1655, because he was "illiterate, as to his academical education" (church records, vol. iii, p. 3, and Henry Ware, *Second Church, Boston*, p. 6).

and with the American Revolution disappeared completely. The reasons for its disappearance are various. Some of them are simple and evident; others are complex and subsidiary. They may be grouped as follows: the increasing opposition to the theory as unscriptural;<sup>48</sup> the lack of clear Scriptural differentiation of the offices and the theoretical character of the distinction that was made;<sup>49</sup> the confusion of the two offices, with the elimination of many traditional distinctions;<sup>50</sup> the difficulty of securing suitable men, especially teachers;<sup>51</sup> church quarrels engendered by the institution;<sup>52</sup> migrations from the older to the newer settlements, and the returning emigration to England during the Commonwealth;<sup>53</sup> inadequate support of the ministers;<sup>54</sup> the rise of public schools and of Harvard College, all of these being religious schools;<sup>55</sup> the crystallization of theological beliefs, and the religious, social, and political turmoil during the period of the later Stuarts and early Georges with its tendency to divert public attention to other subjects.

For the origin of the institution, search must be made beyond the solid rock of Scripture on which the Puritans based it, and even beyond the copious and interesting notes with which the Geneva

<sup>48</sup> See New Haven Colony records, pp. 253-255, for an amusing trial over the question of the Scriptural authority for pastor and teacher.

<sup>49</sup> See John Cotton on Canticles, and Peter Thacher on Canticles (in H. A. Hill, *Old South Church*, vol. i, p. 180, note; *Cambridge Platform*, 6 : 5; John Cotton, *Way of the Churches in New England*, pp. 13, 14, 44, 54, *Questions and Answers on Church Government and Church Covenant* (probably by Richard Mather), pp. 22-26, *Treatise*, pp. 3 f.; Thomas Hooker, *Survey of Church Discipline*, vol. ii, chap. 1, sect. 19-20; Richard Mather, *Model of Church Government*, p. 23; Thomas Welde, *Brief Narration*, p. 3; Ralph Partridge, *On Church Government*, p. 23; Samuel Stone, *Whole Body of Divinity*, p. 325; etc.

<sup>50</sup> Plymouth and Salem are typical cases.

<sup>51</sup> The history of every church presents instances of this.

<sup>52</sup> Due to insufficient salaries, incompatibility of temperament, lack of co-operation of ministers, and theological and political differences.

<sup>53</sup> Lynn, Taunton, and the Connecticut churches are typical cases.

<sup>54</sup> This is a much overrated consideration. Behind most of the instances cited in proof of it there were other causes, such as theological differences, bickerings in church and state, vagueness of ideas, and unsettled conditions. This position is elaborately defended in a book by the present writer soon to appear.

<sup>55</sup> See *Cambridge Platform*, 6: 6; Colonial laws of Massachusetts for 1644 and 1647; Colonial laws of Plymouth for 1643 and 1671; Colonial laws of Connecticut for 1656 and 1660; H. T. Blake, *New Haven Green*, p. 184.

Bible was furnished. The seeker comes directly upon Theodore Beza, who undoubtedly was influenced by Calvin (although he never quotes Calvin). It was from Erasmus and the church fathers, especially Ambrose and Gregory Nazianzen, that Beza seems to have drawn most of his ideas. However, the idea that every local congregation should possess both a pastor and a teacher was unquestionably derived from the conception of the church as a local congregation, independent of all outside authority—the early theory of Luther, and especially of Zwingli, Calvin, and the Anabaptists, who derived it from the various democratic agitators beginning with Marsiglio of Padua.<sup>56</sup>

The institution of pastor and teacher was a praiseworthy effort, intended to produce an enlightened church-membership and to foster an intelligent religion. It was a wise recognition of the principle that religion ought to educate and that education ought to make religious. Otherwise religion becomes stagnant and education breeds anarchy. The institution has died, but it was an important element in the growth of a greater institution—the public school system of our day. Thus the vision of the Puritans, embodied in the dream of Pastor John Wilson before he crossed the ocean, has been largely realized. He dreamed that he was in America, and saw a church rise out of the ground, that “grew and became a marvellous goodly church.”<sup>57</sup>

In one particular, however, modern civilization has erred flagrantly from the Puritan ideal: it has separated education and religion. The American Revolution and the contemporary era of French scepticism preached liberty of conscience and the separation of education and religion, as well as the separation of the church and the state. The nineteenth century, rejecting the wisdom of the centuries, that religion is essential to the building of character, undertook in practice to separate education and religion. The unwisdom of the separation is gradually becoming evident, and sunday-schools have spread over the country in order to meet the deficiency in our public schools. The need of moral instruction in our school system is widely

<sup>56</sup> These conclusions are based on a careful comparison of the Puritan ideas with the writings of the Reformation period.

<sup>57</sup> See John Winthrop, *History of New England*, vol. i, p. 97 (81).

felt. But we must have religious training in order to make moral instruction effective. Denominationalism must yield to cooperation and to emphasis upon the essentials in religion, common to all denominations. We must have religious instruction in our public schools, and religion and education must again join hands to train up our youth in character and fit them to be citizens. If religion can pervade our public schools and education be included in the work of our churches, the Puritan ideal of life, with its Teacher of God's truth and its Pastor of souls, will be realized among us.